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Merging with the University of California: History of the Homeopathic College and Hahnemann Hospital in San Francisco

Josef M. Schmidt

Zusammenfassung

Fusion mit der Universität von Kalifornien: Geschichte des Homöopathischen Colleges und des Hahnemann-Krankenhauses in San Francisco

Die Geschichte der Homöopathie verlief in verschiedenen Ländern höchst unterschiedlich, je nach sozialen, ökonomischen, politischen, religiösen und kulturellen Rahmenbedingungen. In den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika folgte auf einen beeindruckenden Aufschwung im 19. Jahrhundert ein relativ rascher Niedergang Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, wobei sich seit einigen Jahrzehnten ein erneuter Aufwärtstrend abzeichnet. Innerhalb dieses nationalen Rahmens gab es in den USA aber auch regionale Entwicklungen, denen allgemeine vereinfachende Erklärungsmuster und Chronologien nicht gerecht werden. San Francisco/California war zum Beispiel im Vergleich zu Entwicklungen an der Ostküste ein Nachzügler bei der anfänglichen Verbreitung der Homöopathie und dem Aufbau einer entsprechenden organisatorischen Infrastruktur. Im Gegensatz zum Großteil der homöopathischen Institutionen Nordamerikas, die den Flexner-Report (1910) nicht lange überlebten, gelang es jedoch dem 1881 in San Francisco gegründeten Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco (später: Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific) im Jahr 1916 und dem 1906 eröffneten Hahnemann Hospital im Jahr 1918, mit der University of California in San Francisco (UCSF) zu fusionieren, um so an einer Staatsuniversität auf eigens dafür geschaffenen Lehrstühlen noch zwei Jahrzehnte lang homöopathische Therapie und Materia Medica zu unterrichten. Erst nach der letzten Neubesetzung des verbliebenen Lehrstuhls für Homöopathie an der UCSF im Jahr 1936 verlor dieser zunehmend an Bedeutung, bis er 1958 umbenannt und 1967 nicht wiederbesetzt wurde. Gerade in Zeiten der tiefsten Krise der amerikanischen Homöopathie gelang es wiederum in San Francisco einer 1959 von Frauen gegründeten und betriebenen Laienorganisation (California Women's Homeopathic Association), durch Fundraising und Stiftungen in den 1970er Jahren Drittmittelforschung in klinischer Homöopathie an der UCSF zu ermöglichen. Wie aber bereits in den 1930er Jahren erwies sich die Durchführung klinischer Studien allein als nicht hinreichend, um den fortschreitenden Verlust des Stellenwerts der Homöopathie innerhalb der modernen Hochschulmedizin aufzuhalten. Die neuerliche Renaissance der Homöopathie in den USA ist ein (bislang) fast nur von Laien und nicht-ärztlichen Health Care Professionals getragenes außer-universitäres Phänomen.

Introduction: Homeopathy in the American West

Some decades ago, homeopathy, after having disappeared almost completely from the medical scene for more than half a century, experienced a renaissance in the United States of America which eventually led to ever increasing shares of the medical market till the present day.¹ Curiously, this

1 In 1992 the homeopathic market was estimated at \$ 100 million. Ikenze (1992). According to the National Center for Homeopathy, sales of homeopathic products in the United States increased from \$ 170 million in 1995 to \$ 400 million in 1999. Ollivier

development started on the American West Coast, strictly speaking in San Francisco and Berkeley/California, where in the 1970s the Greek homeopath George Vithoulkas (born 1932) had given public lectures (and at the California Academy of Science) and had trained a group of new “classical” American homeopaths.² Meanwhile, the revival of this long-forgotten and -neglected system of healing has covered the whole country, including the East Coast where homeopathy since the 1990s is part of a research program of the National Center for Complementary and Alternative Medicine (at Bethesda/Maryland) which is sponsored by the National Institute of Health with \$ 122 million per year.³

Originally, however, homeopathy had made its way through North America in the opposite direction. The first American homeopathic offices were run in the 1820s by German-speaking immigrants in New York and Allentown/Pennsylvania. Shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, in 1833 Constantin Hering (1800-1880), a compatriot of Samuel Hahnemann (1755-1843), established the pioneer organization of homeopathy in the country, the Hahnemann Society, and in 1835 founded the first college of homeopathy in the world, the “Nordamerikanische Akademie der homöopathischen Heilkunst” in Allentown (80 km west of Philadelphia). From there, teachers and graduates of the Allentown Academy spread and multiplied the new doctrine throughout the country.⁴

In the American West, homeopathy arrived about twenty years after its introduction to the East Coast. In California it came on the great wave of immigrants and adventurers that flooded in at the beginning of the Gold Rush in 1849. Contrary to the large number of physicians in San Francisco at that time (physicians came from all schools of medicine and were primarily attracted by the gold mines), early Californian exponents of homeopathy were not numerous. In 1853 San Francisco had only about six homeopaths. After the Union Pacific Railroad was completed in 1869, how-

(2000). In 2007 the global market for homeopathic medicines was thought to be worth \$ 2 billion which makes up 0.3% of the world drug market. However, 70% of all homeopathic drugs are sold in Europe, especially in France (300 million euros) and Germany (200 million euros). See http://www.boiron.com/en/html/01_homeo_aujourd'hui/realite_eco_homeo.htm and http://www.homeopathic.org/media/in_the_news.jsp. In Britain the market for homeopathy is growing at around 20% per year. See <http://www.homeopathy-soh.org/whats-new/fact-sheets.aspx>. According to The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India, the domestic homeopathy market in India is expected to continue to grow between 25-30% from Rs. 12.5 billion in 2007 to Rs. 26 billion in 2010. See <http://www.assocham.org/prels/printnews.php?id=1308> (43 Rupies are approximately 1 US\$, Aug. 22, 2008).

2 See Grossinger (1982), pp. 241-244.

3 See <http://nccam.nih.gov/about/appropriations/index.htm>.

4 Bradford: New York (1905), pp. 60-61; Bradford: Pennsylvania (1905), pp. 128-144; Schüppel (1996).

ever, homeopathy began to flourish on the West Coast. The number of homeopathic physicians in San Francisco rose from fourteen in 1870 to forty-eight in 1885, eighty-eight in 1890, and ninety in 1904.⁵ Corresponding to this increase of homeopathy in quantity and relevance, major achievements in organization and professionalization were accomplished.⁶

In 1871 the California State Medical Society of Homeopathic Practitioners was founded in San Francisco, followed by the Pacific Homeopathic Medical Society of the State of California in 1874 and the California State Homeopathic Medical Society in 1877. The latter was formally recognized by the state in the amended Medical Practice Act of 1878 which was enacted as an anti-quackery measure that sanctioned exclusively regular, eclectic, and homeopathic medicine. Under these circumstances, the society prospered and by 1885 had enrolled fifty-six members from approximately 200 homeopathic practitioners in California (this society still exists today).⁷

The first periodical issued in California devoted exclusively to homeopathy was the *California Homoeopathic Times* (1877-1878).⁸ The main homeopathic journal on the West Coast, however, was to become *The California Homeopath*. It started in 1882 (in connection with the founding of the homeopathic college) and was edited bi-monthly by William Boericke (1849-1929). In 1893 its title was changed to *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy* under the new editor Hugo Emil Rudolph Arndt (1849-1913) who again was superseded by William Boericke in 1910. It was the "official organ of the state medical societies (homoeopathic) of California, Oregon, Washington, and of the Southern California Homoeopathic Medical Society".⁹

After Francis Edmund Boericke (1826-1901), Rudolph Leonhard Tafel (1831-1896), and Adolph J. Tafel had founded the pharmaceutical company Boericke & Tafel in Philadelphia in 1853 and 1869 respectively, a branch office was opened in San Francisco in 1870 and managed by Francis Edmund Boericke's nephew, William Boericke. In 1882 it was sold to William Boericke and E. A. Schreck (?-1886). After Schreck's death, one-half of the interest in the business was bought by E. W. Runyon (?-1919) in 1890, and the pharmacy was in business as Boericke & Runyon into the 1950s.¹⁰

5 Bradford: California (1905); Dewey (1939), pp. 222-229.

6 Schmidt (1998).

7 Harris (1932), pp. 197-199. See also Ward (1926), pp. 3-36; Dewey (1939), pp. 222, 231-235.

8 Dewey (1939), pp. 219-224.

9 Other editors were in 1915-1917 and in 1922 Edgar H. Howell, in 1918-1922 again William Boericke, in 1923-1924 Guy E. Manning, in 1925-1926 LeRoy H. Bailey, in 1927-1929 Samuel H. Pettler, and in 1930-1940 Charles C. Boericke.

10 Winston (undated), p. 4. See Directory (1941), p. 48.

Background: A concise history of American homeopathy

Proceeding from its inception in Germany, where homeopathy had been founded by Samuel Hahnemann in 1796¹¹, the spread of the new school of therapeutics throughout the world took its course across the individual countries in many different ways – depending on the historical, cultural, economic, political, medical, social and religious views of the day¹². Compared to Europe, in the United States of the 19th century e.g. the legal opportunities for establishing an organizational infrastructure of homeopathic societies, journals, dispensaries, colleges, and hospitals were quite favourable. Thus, by founding the American Institute of Homeopathy (AIH) as the first national organization of physicians in 1844, homeopathic doctors succeeded relatively soon in professionalizing and ruling a significant portion of the medical market. Threatened by increasing competition, regular doctors tried to counteract the homeopaths' influence by means of founding the American Medical Association (AMA) in 1847 and enacting a Code of Ethics prohibiting their members any consultation with homeopathic colleagues. While in the first instance these measures rather increased than decreased public sympathy and attachment for homeopathy¹³, they proved to be effective weapons during the second half of the 19th century on battlegrounds such as city hospitals, military service, licensing laws, and state universities. In the 1880s, however, in conjunction with a kind of mutual convergence in therapy, homeopathic doctors did manage to run wards in public hospitals, get admission to the army, or participate in mixed licensing boards.¹⁴ In order to prevent a further blurring of distinction between homeopathy and "allopathy", in 1881 a minority of orthodox homeopaths founded the International Hahnemannian Association (IHA) – signifying a schism of homeopathy into a puristic and an eclectic school. Within regular medicine, this split was paralleled by the expulsion of the New York State Medical Society from the AMA in 1882 on the grounds of discrepancies regarding collaboration with homeopathic doctors.

The decline of homeopathy in America in the 20th century obviously has many reasons.¹⁵ Apart from major transformations in medical science and the pharmacological industry, one of the key factors for the final blow to homeopathy was the reform movement of medical education at the turn of

11 Tischner (1998); Schmidt (1990).

12 Dinges (1996); Schmidt (2001); Jütte (2006); Schmidt: Entstehung (2007).

13 Homeopaths expelled from professional societies due to allegiance to their doctrine were considered victims of unfair hostility, persecution, and discrimination. They could play the role of martyrs and arouse public opinion in their behalf. Coulter (1973), pp. 199-205; Schmidt (1996), pp. 104-106.

14 See Dinges (1995).

15 See Rogers: American Homeopathy (1998); Rogers: Alternative Path (1998); Rogers (2002).

the century and its sequels up to the present day. Once new ambitious standards for medical colleges and hospitals – such as full-time faculty, mainstream curricula, and costly laboratories – were made mandatory, many homeopathic schools had to close their doors simply due to lack of sufficient means. On the other hand, philanthropic foundations – such as the Carnegie Foundation (1906) or Rockefeller Foundation (1913) – directed their huge donations exclusively towards the construction of modern medical centers at the big renowned universities. When – apart from two (New York and Philadelphia) – all homeopathic colleges had vanished into thin air, a small group of classical homeopaths established the American Foundation of Homeopathy (AFH) in 1921 so as to offer at least one post-graduate training for physicians after regular medical school. Since the demand on the part of medical doctors proved to be insignificant, in 1974 the successor organization National Center for Homeopathy (NCH) expanded the target group of persons entitled to study and practice homeopathy. Since that time homeopathy in the United States has clearly been dominated by non-medical and lay homeopaths, while the number of homeopathic medical doctors organized in the AIH stagnates at around 100 for the whole country.¹⁶

Within this national framework, localized history of homeopathy took place in various sites – among others in San Francisco. In comparison to other states, however, due to geographical, historical, political, social, and personal idiosyncrasies, California's history has some peculiarities resulting in interesting time-shifts in the stages and achievements of the homeopathic movement. Although, originally, California was not one of the first in embracing homeopathy, it was after all the University of California, San Francisco, which housed the last Chair of Homeopathy in the United States until 1958. While the bulk of homeopathic colleges and hospitals failed to survive the 1910s, in San Francisco at that time it was still possible for homeopaths to merge their institutions with the state university and to officially teach homeopathy to medical students. As the following account suggests, the special features of California's history of homeopathy to some extent also came about through unpredictable singularities and contingencies.

Early Homeopathic Hospitals in California

The first homeopathic hospital in California was founded in 1854 by Frederick Hiller (1820-?) and was called Nevada City Hospital. Unfortunately no sources remained regarding the number of beds or rooms it once had. The building, however, was damaged by fire in 1862 and the hospital was not reopened.¹⁷ The San Francisco Surgical and Gynaecological Institute

16 Kaufman (1971); Coulter (1973); Nicholls (1988); Schmidt: Background (2007).

17 Frederick Hiller was born in Berlin in 1820, graduated there in 1840 and emigrated to America as a result of his participation in the revolution in 1848. Shortly after his ar-

was then founded and conducted by the members of the San Francisco County Society of Homoeopathic Practitioners, but existed only for a short span of time. The Southern California State Asylum for Insane and Inebriates in Patton near Redlands was opened under homeopathic supervision in 1893.

The Fabiola Hospital in Oakland had its origins in the Oakland Homoeopathic Hospital and Dispensary Association, founded in 1877 through the philanthropic efforts of Catherine E. Kirkham (?-1897), the wife of General Ralph W. Kirkham (1821-1893), a hero of the Mexican War who, after his retirement from military in 1870, became a prominent Oakland business man.¹⁸ Catherine Kirkham, known as Kate, served as the hospital's first president. Later she was frequently mentioned as the "Fabiola of Oakland". The hospital and dispensary were maintained at various sites until the erection of a permanent building in 1888. Although the first building was just a small rented house, in 1910 the hospital association had a tract of two and a half acres on which several commodious buildings for the accomodation of different classes of cases were located. In 1886, however, the name was changed to Fabiola Hospital.¹⁹ According to the hospital association the renaming was justified by the fact that "the original name implied that only the homeopathic teachings were followed in the care of the sick in our hospital, whereas no restrictions were made as to school, all reputable physicians being welcomed as attendants on the sick within our doors".²⁰

The Oakland Homoeopathic Hospital and Dispensary was the first hospital – regular or homeopathic – in the East Bay of San Francisco and was founded by eighteen women. Moreover, in an article published in *The New York Times* in 1910 the Fabiola Hospital Association claimed "the distinction of being the first hospital in this country to be organized and operated

rival in New York he was converted to homeopathy. In 1853 he established a well-paying practice in San Francisco and in 1854 the first homeopathic hospital on the Pacific coast in Nevada City, California. In 1862 he moved to Virginia City, Nevada, and in 1870 removed to San Francisco where he established the only successful homeopathic dispensary in that city. In 1872 he attended, in Washington, D.C., the convention of the American Institute of Homeopathy, of which he was a member. Cleave (1873).

18 During his time in Mexico, Kirkham kept detailed journals of his wartime service, including six battles and accounts of his infantry's travels through Mexico. Published and edited by Miller (1993). About the life of Ralph W. Kirkham who is buried at Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland, California see: <http://mountainviewpeople.blogspot.com/2008/02/general-ralph-kirkham.html>. About the home he lived in with his family see: http://collections.museumca.org/item_detail.jsp?id=224900. He and one of his daughters are listed in Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, ed. by Moseley (2003), p. 790.

19 Bradford: California (1905), p. 380.

20 Adams (1910), p. 8.

entirely by women".²¹ When it became Fabiola Hospital, the new bylaws stipulated that the management of the hospital must only reside in the hands of a woman. The bylaws also stated that there always had to be women physicians employed as staff doctors.²² This hospital provided free as well as reduced-rate care for fifty-six years. Due to the difficult economic situation during the Great Depression, however, it was forced to close. In 1932 the land was sold to Merritt Hospital, which today resides but a few blocks from Fabiola Hospital's original site. On the day the Fabiola Hospital closed, the *Oakland Tribune* headline eulogized, "Fabiola Ends Experiment in 'Feminism'".²³

The Homeopathic College of San Francisco

The history of the first and most important homeopathic college in the American West began about half a century after that of the Allentown Academy in Pennsylvania. Probably owing to the geographical isolation and distance from medical centers, in 1881 San Francisco's homeopaths decided to establish a college of their own. Considering the mounting costs of medical education and the small number of anticipated students, it was rather a bold, brave enterprise.²⁴

In 1881 the first meeting was held for the purpose of founding and establishing the Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco. In 1883, John N. Eckel (1823-1901) and William Boericke were elected to the board of directors, who then appointed a committee to appeal to every homeopathic physician on the coast, and also to enlist the support of influential laymen.²⁵ In the same year, the first faculty meeting was called at Powell Street, on the corner of Union Square.²⁶ The faculty consisted of professors of anatomy, chemistry, theory and practice, clinical medicine, materia medica, gynaecology, obstetrics, children's diseases, ophthalmology and otology. Later physiology, anatomy and histology of the eye and ear, pa-

21 Adams (1910), p. 8.

22 "Fabiola Hospital has always been managed by a board of women, a woman has always been resident physician, and women have been at the head of all the different departments in operation in the hospital". Adams (1910), p. 8.

23 *Oakland Tribune*, Oct. 16, 1932.

24 For the following account see Ward: Hahnemann (1905) and Ward (1915). Ward's article is based on Manning (1899). See also Harris (1932), pp. 243-246.

25 The appeal was published in: *California Homoeopath* 1 (1883), p. 39.

26 Union Square was built in 1850 by Mayor John Geary and was once used for rallies and support for the Union Army during the Civil War. In 1903 a monument to Admiral Georg Dewey was erected there. Today, this one-block plaza is a major tourist draw, a vital, cosmopolitan place in downtown San Francisco, and one of the world's premier shopping districts. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Union_Square,_San_Francisco,_California.

thology, and venereal and skin diseases were included. It was decided that the faculty was to serve without remuneration.

The Hahnemann Medical College of San Francisco chose for its home a building formerly occupied by the University College and built for a Baptist church, on the corner of Stockton and Geary Street, at the other end of Union Square.²⁷ Here its first course of lectures was held, from June to October 1884. During that time, the college was removed to Haight Street, on the corner of Octavia Street²⁸, to a building formerly used by the medical department of the University of the Pacific²⁹ where it remained for fifteen years. The class was composed of those entering college for the first year and by others who were compelled to go to other medical colleges in San Francisco, because of the lack of homeopathic institutions. Eventually, a senior class was formed and the first graduation of the Hahnemann Medical College took place in October 1884.

Preliminary to the opening, a dispensary, long in existence and known as the Pacific Homeopathic Dispensary, was affiliated with the college thus providing clinical opportunities to the students. According to the Annual Announcements of the Hahnemann Medical College, the number of enrolled students varied between ten and twenty-five in these years with a mean number of eighteen students per year. Approximately seven graduated every year. In 1902 the number of alumni had reached 150.³⁰

Following the first graduation, in 1884 an effort was made to obtain clinical facilities at the City and County Hospital, but notwithstanding the consent of the Board of Supervisors, the municipal medical authorities denied the privilege.

In 1887 the college developed its first hospital enterprise by providing a few beds in a small cottage on Sacramento Street. In order to develop a hospital, however, it became necessary to change the title of the college and to

27 Union Square district lies roughly between the Financial District and Tenderloin, which has been a downtown residential community since shortly after the Gold Rush in 1849. It had an active nightlife in the late 1800s with many theaters, restaurants and hotels. Today it is a high crime area and one of the lowest income neighborhoods in San Francisco with among the highest concentration of homeless, elderly, disabled, ex-offender and Southeast Asian populations. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tenderloin,_San_Francisco,_California.

28 The area is called Hayes Valley and lies between the historical districts of Alamo Square and Civic Center, next to City Hall. Once the Central Freeway ran through the neighborhood until it was closed after the 1989 earthquake and eventually demolished. Today Victorian, Queen Anne, and Edwardian townhouses rub shoulders with boutiques, restaurant, and public housing complexes. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hayes_Valley,_San_Francisco,_California.

29 Today University of California, Extension Center.

30 UCB, Archives: Annual Announcements of the Hahnemann Medical College. Years 1887 to 1903.

form a corporation called the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco which continued for several years. In 1888, the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco moved its first small hospital to Page Street, within two blocks of the college³¹, thus providing better opportunities for clinical demonstration. However, internal strife, lack of support from professionals throughout the state, the assessment upon the college stock and constant financial depletion of its professors caused a dissension within the faculty concerning the propriety of maintaining the hospital. In addition, antagonism arose in the vicinity and the hospital was declared to be a nuisance. As a result the hospital was closed.

In 1892 the Hahnemann Hospital College presented a petition to the Board of Health for a ward in the City and County Hospital, but to no avail. Then, at least, the plan of affiliation with the state university was first suggested.

When in 1894 the American Institute of Homeopathy decided to recommend a four year course for all homeopathic colleges, the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco at once inaugurated such a program. In each of the four years teaching was conducted for seven months. This placed them far ahead of most Eastern colleges as it was the first college west of Chicago, regular or homeopathic, to fall into line – although it had more serious consequences than for colleges in the East.

The school had always enjoyed a reputation of respectability, and was financially aided by friends. However, medical education grew more and more costly and when the financing of the school became troublesome, the trustees were considering its closure in 1896.

In 1897, a new endeavour was made toward the plan of affiliation with the state university. A petition was presented to the regents of the University of California to merge the Hahnemann College with their medical department. The regular physicians, through their county societies, individual members, resolutions, influence and other means, worked to defeat the proposition. Although it was held in abeyance for some months by the regents, of whom several together with the Governor were favourable toward homeopathy, the proposition was defeated “for economic reasons”.³²

Such defeat, however, stimulated rather than discouraged the homeopaths' efforts towards a home of their own. In 1898 a subscription list was developed to form a fund for building purposes. \$ 1,750 were raised within a few minutes at a dinner given to the senior class (the first class graduating under the four year's course), about \$ 7,350 were finally pledged through homeopathic physicians in California, and \$ 3,000 were subscribed by the Southern Homeopathic Dispensary. That amount of money was sufficient to

31 In the neighborhood Hayes Valley (see above).

32 See also Stadtman (1970), p. 140.

erect what was later mentioned as “a marvel of a building”. In 1899 the cornerstone of the college was laid.

The erection of a new building gave great impetus to college affairs. Internal development became marked. A laboratory of physics and physiological chemistry was provided. Great attention was paid to the executive management pertaining to the preliminary education of students and to the financial side of their relationship to the college. In 1900 the dean visited the various medical colleges of the country, to the view of obtaining knowledge of the system of record books and card systems in vogue. Application was made to the regents of the University of the State of New York to become accredited and registered with them, and by conforming to the exactions of that body, this was accomplished. In 1903 the college became registered and accredited with the Illinois and Michigan State Boards of Health, after the exactions of its curriculum conformed to the full requirements of these boards.

Started in 1884, for three decades the college operated as an independent medical school graduating approximately seven homeopathic physicians per year, i.e. physicians of equal standard to graduates from regular medical schools. In 1909 the college had a teaching staff of thirty-five instructors, thirteen being professors. Among the most important professors of the Hahnemann Medical College were John N. Eckel (1823-1901), Samuel Lilienthal (1815-1891), Willis Alonzo Dewey (1858-1938), James W. Ward (1861-1939), William Boericke, and Hugo Emil Rudolph Arndt. Most of them had either German ancestry or close relations to Germany.³³

The Hahnemann Hospital of San Francisco

Regarding the preliminary hospital which was closed in 1888, no new measures aiming at the creation of a new hospital were taken until 1896, when James W. Ward and Florence N. Ward (1860-1919) directed their influence toward a unification of effort in the organization of an institution known thereafter as the Homeopathic Sanatorium. Initially, it was an association of five physicians, organized for the purpose of creating a sanatorium where all physicians of the homeopathic school were welcome to send patients for personal supervision and treatment. In a rented building at Sixteenth and Capp Street³⁴, the institution was opened to the reception of pa-

33 See Schmidt (1998), pp. 161-163.

34 The neighborhood is part of the Inner Mission District, named after the Mission San Francisco de Asís founded in 1776 and known as “Mission Dolores”. It is the oldest building of the city and was never destroyed by any earthquake. After Spanish missionaries had forced the Ohlone Indians who had lived here to flee this area, Mexican and Spanish ranchers and, later in the 19th and 20th century, large numbers of Irish and German immigrant workers moved there. Today the neighborhood is ethnically and economically diverse, with a population that is half Latino, a third White, and eleven percent Asian. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mission_District,_San

tients in 1896. It had fifteen beds, was equipped with “the latest surgical apparatus from Europe”, and its obstetrical room included “a Parisian incubator”.³⁵

The movement was developed by each of the five physicians contributing to a common fund of \$ 3,000 in equal proportions. In 1899 the sanatorium moved to larger rented quarters in Central Avenue.³⁶ The institution was more than self-supporting. It collected and gave, as a building fund to the Hahnemann Hospital, \$ 3,000 for furnishings, and, in 1904, gave \$ 1,500 toward the current expense account of the College. The unanimous consent of the physicians to all propositions – a feeling and expression maintained throughout the nine years of its existence – was probably the main factor in the upgrading, creating a sentiment favourable to the larger accomplishment of the Hahnemann Hospital.

In anticipation of the Hahnemann Hospital in 1902 the college realized that its charter did not include the right to maintain a training school for nurses and ability to grant diplomas for them. Hence, a new corporation was formed on a non-stock basis, known as the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific. The Hahnemann Hospital College gave up its charter and bestowed its holdings on the new corporation.

In 1901 the elected mayor of San Francisco, a friend of homeopathy, had appointed James W. Ward as a health commissioner to represent the homeopathic school for a term of four (or six) years.³⁷ In 1903, through absolute control of the Department of Health of the City and County of San Francisco and by the election of Ward, president of the commission, the homeopaths succeeded in assigning just representation of their school in the various departments. Accordingly, in 1904 the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific was assigned two wards in the City and County Hospital. This comprised various branches of public service under the control of the Board of Health, including the emergency service, the alms house, and care of the public schools.

Francisco,_California.

35 UCB, Archives: Fifteenth Annual Announcement of the Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco, Session 1897–1898. San Francisco 1897, p. 27.

36 The street is close to the University of San Francisco. The area is called North of the Panhandle, since it lies north of the long and narrow park that forms a panhandle with Golden Gate Park. It is part of the Western Addition District which was an addition to the city west of Van Ness Avenue and was first developed around the turn of the 20th century as a middle-class suburb served by cable cars. After the Second World War parts of the neighborhood suffered from crime and poverty while many other districts underwent significant gentrification. Today, many areas of the neighborhood are again solidly middle-class. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panhandle_\(San_Francisco\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panhandle_(San_Francisco)) and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_Addition,_San_Francisco,_California.

37 *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy* 48 (1937), p. 270.

James Ward acted with merit during the plague epidemics in the city. This was still attested by Robert Langley Porter (1870-1965) in an interview given in 1960.³⁸ San Francisco had experienced two plague epidemics, 1900-1904 and 1907-1908.³⁹ In 1904, in his report as president of the Board of Health, Ward e.g. dealt with the cleaning up of Chinatown by means of using a portable sterilizer and compelling property owners to make their basements and cellars rat-proof. He had also equipped the homeopathic ward of the City and County Hospital with bacteriological instruments, thus showing his acceptance of bacteriology.⁴⁰

The cornerstone of Hahnemann Hospital was laid at California and Maple Street⁴¹ in 1905. After one year the institution officially opened as an acute care hospital on April 10, 1906 (Hahnemann's birthday). Just eight days later, the great earthquake and fire did considerable damage – delaying the opening until 1907, when repairs were completed. The hospital was then described as “fully equipped in every particular for service with all modern equipment. It is provided with 130 beds, in every respect the most modern up-to-date hospital on the Pacific Coast.” Part of the state-of-the-art equipment was the

most approved apparatus in the operating pavillion where observation becomes most valuable in teaching the highest points of surgical techniques. An X-ray Department completely equipped, permits teaching of the science of radiography, radiophotography and the administration of high frequency currents. The large wards (medical, surgical and obstetrical) afford ample observation among charity patients.⁴²

38 Langley Porter [Dean of the University in the 1920s and 1930s] cooperated with James Ward during that period in which Ward had assigned him “communicable diseases”. UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Langley Porter Oral History (1960), pp. 36-39, 47, 50.

39 Risse (1992).

40 Ward: Report (1905). See also Ward (1907). In 1902, he was still listed as a member of the Board of Health. San Francisco Municipal Report for the Fiscal Year 1901-1902 (1903), p. 958.

41 The area belongs to Presidio Heights District which lies between Laurel Heights neighborhood and the Presidio, a park on the northern tip of the San Francisco Peninsula, within the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The Presidio was originally a Spanish Fort built in 1776. In 1848 it became home to several U.S. Army headquarters and units. Until its closure in 1995, it was the longest continuously operated military base in the United States. From 1898 to 1995 the Presidio was home to the Letterman Army Hospital or Medical Center respectively. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Presidio_of_San_Francisco and <http://www.militarymuseum.org/LettermanAMC.html>.

42 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: A History of Marshal Hale Memorial Hospital (Formerly Hahnemann Hospital of San Francisco). San Francisco 1987 [manuscript], p. 2; UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Marshal Hale Memorial Hospital. Commemorated March 25, 1975 [leaflet], p. 2.

At that time San Francisco had approximately 400,000 inhabitants⁴³ and some 20 hospitals⁴⁴. Since the total number of hospital beds in the city during that period may be difficult to establish, as a reference point for comparison it may be recalled that e.g. Letterman General Hospital started with a 300-bed building in 1902, Saint Francis Memorial Hospital opened a new 100-bed building in 1911, Mount Zion Hospital a new 134-bed building in 1914, San Francisco Hospital a new 512-bed building in 1915, and University of California Hospital a new 220-bed building in 1917 (after the 75-bed ad hoc hospital, created in 1907 in the Medical School Building, was considered by the Flexner report “not up to University standard”).⁴⁵

Merging with the University of California

Meanwhile, however, the nation-wide movement for the reform of medical education had arrived in full swing. Trying to emulate German pioneering research work (Rudolph Virchow, 1821-1902; Robert Koch, 1843-1910; etc.), in 1893 Johns Hopkins University Medical School was established and endowed with a full-time faculty and laboratory facilities. Ultimately, it became the outstanding model for American medical education. The joint efforts of the AMA Council on Medical Education, founded in 1905, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, founded in 1906, towards an assessment of all medical colleges in the country on the basis of the new standard were finally published in a report by Abraham Flexner (1866-1959) in 1910.⁴⁶

In that report, which had a detrimental impact especially on small medical colleges as well as those which catered to minorities, Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific achieved a fairly satisfactory rating.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, in 1910 the college and the hospital separated. From that time onwards, the latter was administrated by the Hahnemann Hospital Corporation.

In 1915 negotiations began between the college and the University of California, Medical School, regarding a merger of both schools. In 1916, both parties finally agreed on what was called “California’s great adventure”. The property of the college was transferred to the university which in return established two professorships, one for Homeopathic Materia Medica and

43 The number rose from 358,000 in 1897 according to the Board of Supervisors (Williamson (1897), p. 1101) to 416,912 in 1910 according to U.S. Census (Hansen (1980), p. 2).

44 According to (Crocker-Langley’s) San Francisco Directories (1907) and (1908).

45 See http://history.library.ucsf.edu/building_hospitals.html, <http://mountzion.ucsf-medicalcenter.org/history/1907.html>, http://www.saintfrancismemorial.org/About_Us/History/index.htm, <http://www.sfgenealogy.com/sf/history/hghosp28.htm>, and <http://www.militarymuseum.org/LettermanAMC.html>.

46 See Schmidt (1994).

47 Flexner (1910), pp. 194-195.

one for Applied Homeopathic Therapeutics.⁴⁸ To the former William Boericke from San Francisco was appointed in 1915⁴⁹, to the latter in 1917 Anson Hill from New York⁵⁰. However, after drastic cuts in their salaries (from \$ 3,000 to \$ 600 and from \$ 3,200 to \$ 1,200 per year) in 1920/21⁵¹, both professors resigned. Successor of the former became his son Garth Wilkinson Boericke (1893-1968) who came from Philadelphia in 1921/22⁵², the latter position was occupied by Thomas McGavack in 1926 and Paul Wyne in 1927.

In 1918 another agreement was enacted between the university and the Hahnemann Hospital Corporation. In 1919 the hospital's property was transferred and conveyed to the regents who in exchange should continue the hospital under the name The Hahnemann Hospital of the University of California, without any discrimination "against homeopathic physicians, patients, practice or treatment".⁵³ This affiliation with the university, however, ended in 1930. More stringent post-earthquake fire ordinances deemed the original facility hazardous to use, and the economic difficulties of the early 1930s created an insurmountable liability. In 1931 the old structure was demolished by the Hahnemann Hospital Corporation, and a new one built in 1941 on the original site. It had a capacity of seventy-five beds providing private, semi-private, and ward accommodations. However, there was no training school for nurses.⁵⁴ It continued to function as a general, short term, acute care hospital, with eighty-eight beds, until 1971.⁵⁵ Then a second new facility, with 151 beds, was erected on the same site. In acknowledgement of one of its main contributors, in 1975 the institution was renamed the Marshal Hale Memorial Hospital. Thus, the name of Hahnemann was completely extinguished.⁵⁶ In 1988 it merged with the Children's

48 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: H. College of the Pacific, H. Hospital [manuscript], pp. 1-2; UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Directors of Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific, Sept. 28, 1916, pp. 52-54.

49 UCB, Pres. Files: Letter by Herbert C. Moffit [1913-1919 Dean, Univ. of Calif., Medical School] to Benjamin Ide Wheeler [1899-1919 President, Univ. of Calif.], Sept. 6, 1915. See also Boericke (1916).

50 UCB, Pres. Files: Letter by James W. Ward [Dean, Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific] to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, April 18, 1917.

51 UCB, Pres. Files: Memorandum for the Finance Committee, Jan. 6, 1921.

52 *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy* 33 (1922), pp. 29, 65 and 34 (1923), p. 5.

53 UCSF, Spec. Coll., MSS 91-5: Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Hahnemann Hospital, Jan. 9, 1919, pp. 171-181.

54 See the announcement "The New Hahnemann Hospital of San Francisco, California" with a contemporary picture in the Directory (1941), p. 34.

55 Unfortunately, no records of patients, staff, or administration remained.

56 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: A History of Marshal Hale Memorial Hospital (Formerly Hahnemann Hospital of San Francisco). San Francisco 1987 [manuscript], pp. 2-4.

Hospital to become its East Campus, which in 1991 merged with Presbyterian Hospital to form the California Pacific Medical Center.⁵⁷ Probably since the 1960s or 1970s homeopathy has not been practiced any more in the hospital. Although in 1997 the Institute for Health & Healing opened a clinic at the Pacific Campus of the California Pacific Medical Center to integrate complementary therapies in a major medical center, there is no evidence that anyone of the clinic team, that consists of “integrative physicians”, psychotherapists, acupuncturists, etc., practices homeopathy.⁵⁸

Similar developments took place at the Department of Homeopathy at the University of California, Medical School. As in 1920/21, the salaries of the two homeopathic professors were once again cut significantly in 1933 (from \$ 1,500 and \$ 1,200 to a total of \$ 900 per year) on the grounds that the income of the Homeopathy Teaching Fund, transferred to the university in 1916, was less than \$ 1,000 a year. Any difference – hitherto charged to the budget for the Medical School – would no longer be justified since neither of the professors devoted his chief attention to the work in that school. In addition, they would not have academic qualifications of professorial rank.⁵⁹ As a result, in 1934 McGavack resigned.⁶⁰ He pointed out that he was compelled to earn his living mainly by practicing in his own office and charged the university with non-cooperation during his research activities.⁶¹

On the part of the university, however, not everybody was an opponent of homeopathy. President Robert G. Sproul (1891-1975) e.g. wrote that he had

57 California Pacific Medical Center (CPMC) is comprised of the four oldest hospitals in San Francisco. The Davies Campus, formerly Davies Medical Center (since 1971) or Franklin Hospital (since 1917), is a descendant of the German Hospital, founded by the German General Benevolent Society in 1852. The Pacific Campus was founded in 1857 as the West's first medical school. The St. Luke's Campus was founded in 1871 by the Episcopalian Church, and the California Campus was founded in 1875 as the Pacific Dispensary for Women and Children. Today CPMC is one of the largest private, not-for-profit, academic medical centers in Northern California with a medical staff of over 1,500 physicians and allied health practitioners. See <http://www.cpmc.org/about/history/>.

58 According to its website, the Institute for Health & Healing is the largest integrative medical center in the nation with over 40 practitioners and doctors practicing more than 35 holistic therapies. It was founded in 1994 by the joining of three long-standing programs at California Pacific Medical Center in San Francisco. Today, the Institute offers services at three other Sutter Health Hospitals in the San Francisco Bay Area, at Marin General, Novato Community Hospital, and Mills-Peninsula Health Services. See <http://www.cpmc.org/services/ihh/about/>.

59 UCB, Pres. Files: Letter by H.H. Benedict to Monroe E. Deutsch [Provost, Univ. of Calif.], Nov 16, 1933 and letters by William J. Kerr [Prof. of Medicine, Univ. of Calif., Medical School] to Langley Porter [1927-1937 and 1939-1940 Dean, Univ. of Calif., Medical School], Dec. 14, 1933 and July 6, 1934.

60 UCB, Pres. Files: Letter by Thomas McGavack to William J. Kerr, July 2, 1934.

61 McGavack: Letter (1934).

“sympathetic interest in homeopathy”⁶², Dean Langley Porter had “a real and abiding affection” for a prominent homeopath (James W. Ward)⁶³, Herbert C. Moffit (1867-1952) was said to have called a homeopath for consultation⁶⁴, and some perhaps were even patients of homeopaths⁶⁵. Moreover, in view of future donors, it definitely did not seem appropriate to repeal the agreement of 1916 after less than two decades. Nevertheless, in the new negotiations between the two parties in 1935, exactly this decision was at stake.⁶⁶

Had not Otto E. Guttentag (1900-1992), a German-Jewish immigrant, come to San Francisco, possessing exactly those academic qualifications the university was demanding, the revised agreement of 1936 between the University of California and the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific would not have been achieved.⁶⁷ So Guttentag in 1936 became full-time Assistant Professor and Chair of Homeopathy and in 1940 Associate Professor and Chair of Homeopathy.⁶⁸

Guttentag was born in Stettin (Pommern/Germany) in 1900 and had studied in Marburg, Jena, Heidelberg, Berlin, Munich, and Halle where he graduated in 1926. He became private assistant to Franz Volhard (1872-1950), an internationally renowned kidney specialist, and was also trained in biochemistry and pharmacological methods. Being asked one day by Volhard to abstract a paper by August Bier (1861-1949) on homeopathy⁶⁹ which was published in 1925 for the *Archiv für Innere Medizin*, Guttentag was prompted to investigate further into this field. Hence, in 1927 he took a

62 UCB, Pres. Files: Letter by Robert G. Sproul [1929-1958 President, Univ. of Calif.] to John L. McNab [Attorney], Jan. 17, 1939.

63 “Personally, I can say that, to my respect and regard for the Nestor of that group, Dr. James Ward, is added a real and abiding affection, and that anything that I can do to carry out the spirit of the agreement to the end of upraising and improving medical practice, I will do.” UCB, Pres. Files: Letter by Langley Porter to Marshal Hale [President, Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific], July 25, 1934. In 1936 Langley Porter gave a dinner in honor of the seventy-fifth birthday of James W. Ward. *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy* 47 (1936), p. 270.

64 “Herbert Moffit was not a homeopath, but he called Howard Engle in consultation, and Howard Engle would call him in consultation [...]”. Arch. JMS: Interview with Elsa K. Engle in San Francisco on June 6, 1992.

65 According to William Boericke, William Wallace Campbell (1923-1929 President, Univ. of Calif.) was his former patient. *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy* 34 (1923), p. 6.

66 “We determined that to all of us the proposals of Mr. Jordan were distinctly unacceptable [...]”. UCB, Pres. Files: Memorandum to the President, Oct. 31, 1935.

67 UCB, Pres. Files: Memorandum to the President, Nov. 30, 1935; N.N. (1936).

68 See Guttentag (1941).

69 Bier (1925). On the discussion of Bier’s article see Doms (2004).

course of homeopathy with Alfons Stiegele (1871-1956) at the Homeopathic Hospital in Stuttgart and also studied with the homeopaths Fritz Donner (1896-1979) in Berlin and Karl Kötschau (1892-1982) in Jena to some extent. Eventually Volhard even allowed Guttentag to carry out studies on homeopathic treatment of patients in his medical clinic at the University of Frankfurt.⁷⁰

In 1933, on recommendation of his friend Karl Kötschau, Guttentag came to San Francisco to become director of the research laboratory of the Homeopathic Foundation of California. In 1936 the Chair of Homeopathy was created for him at the Department of Medicine. Over the next fifteen years, however, Guttentag gradually shifted his interest in homeopathic medicine toward studies on theoretical and philosophical aspects of medicine⁷¹, including reflections on historical perspectives of homeopathy⁷². In 1942, during the national emergency, he offered to discontinue his elective course in homeopathy but because of the contractual obligation to the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific this intention proved to be difficult to accomplish.⁷³ Guttentag became a pioneer in the field of medical ethics rather than in homeopathy. In 1951, at one of the first sessions held at the University of California to deal with the problems of experimentation on human subjects, he delivered the key speech.⁷⁴

In 1958 Guttentag applied for full professorship. To this purpose, however, the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific had to agree with the university's condition to change the title of the professorship to Samuel Hahnemann Professor of Medical Philosophy. The argument was that homeopathy meanwhile was too small a field to justify a full professorship. Thus, after the remaining representatives of the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific had agreed on that change of title, the name "homeopathy" was extinguished from the University of California.⁷⁵

70 Guttentag (1931); Guttentag (1932); Schier (1933).

71 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Otto Ernst Guttentag, Curriculum Vitae. See also UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Nicholas L. Petrakis: Otto Guttentag: Remarks made at the Celebration of the Birthday of Otto E. Guttentag, M.D. at the Faculty Club, University of California, Berkeley, CA. Febr. 10, 1990 [manuscript].

72 See e.g. Guttentag (1940).

73 UCB, Pres. Files: Letter by Otto E. Guttentag to Francis S. Smyth [1942-1954 Dean, Univ. of Calif., Medical School], March 16, 1942. See also *The Pacific Coast Homeopathic Bulletin* 1,10 (1942), p. 17.

74 Guttentag (1953). See also Fox (1992).

75 "After a short discussion, it was moved, seconded and carried unanimously that the contract offered by the regents of the University of California be accepted as offered and duly signed by the president and the secretary. This ended this historical event striking out the name of Homeopathy from our contract with the University of California." UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Minutes of the Meeting of the Members of the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific, Febr. 6, 1958.

In 1962 Guttentag became full Professor and in 1967 Emeritus or Lecturer Emeritus respectively. In 1990 he retired and in 1992 he died. From what he said, he had never had many students. Not any of them had become a known homeopath.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, he is said to have convinced several faculty members of the significant contributions of homeopathy to medicine as a whole.⁷⁷ The original Homeopathy Teaching Fund of \$ 20,000 which in 1916 the university had received as endowment for the Chair of Homeopathy meanwhile has been transferred to the Department of the History of Health Sciences, for visiting lectureships on the history of homeopathy.

Since after 1972 the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific was abandoned by its members, Frederic W. Schmid (1917-1984), a German homeopathic physician who had settled in San Francisco in 1952, tried to revitalize it. He was born in Strassburg in 1917 and had graduated at Heidelberg in 1946. Within American homeopathy he held numerous positions, such as President of the American Institute of Homeopathy, President of the California State Homeopathic Society, Secretary-Treasurer of the San Francisco County Homeopathic Medical Society, etc. By paying the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific's overdue taxes of previous years in 1982, Frederic Schmid eliminated its old Board of Directors (including Guttentag) and thus became President of the organization. In this position, after lengthy negotiations, in 1983 he succeeded to teach homeopathy at the University of California, San Francisco – once a month, usually on Tuesday evenings. In May 1984, however, he died of a heart attack.⁷⁸

Lay contributions to homeopathy

Although homeopathy never played a significant role within the university, even in the middle of the 20th century – at a time when homeopathy in America reached its bottom – it was supported by a considerable part of San Francisco's population. One of the major lay organizations of the city was the California Women's Homeopathic Association, an offspring of the National Women's Homeopathic League. It was founded in 1959 by Elsa K. Engle (1895-1994), the driving spirit through all the thirty years of its existence, with the purpose "to advance and encourage the cause of homeo-

76 Arch. JMS: Interviews with Otto E. Guttentag [1900-1992] in San Francisco on Oct. 3, 6, and 10, 1989, and in Oakland on Dec. 2, 1991.

77 See e.g. the letter of regard and esteem, written by Chauncey D. Leake [Director Special Research Studies, Univ. of Calif., Medical School] to Otto E. Guttentag, June 12, 1967, on the occasion of his becoming Professor Emeritus. UCSF, Spec. Coll.

78 Arch. JMS: Interviews with the widow Irmgard Schmid-Maybach in San Francisco on Dec. 19, 1991, Febr. 3, and March 8, 1992. See also Schmidt (1994), p. 95.

pathy".⁷⁹ Through several fundraising activities the originally 150 members gathered a substantial amount of money.⁸⁰

Guttentag turned out to be the middle-man between the association and the university, advising and helping them in establishing several funds at UCSF. In 1974, \$ 20,000 were presented to the School of Pharmacy for a biennial Samuel Hahnemann Lectureship in Correlative Pharmacology.⁸¹ In 1980, \$ 30,000 were given to the School of Medicine for Research on the Delineation of Hahnemann's Simile Phenomenon.⁸² In 1983, \$ 17,000 were offered for a Scholarship for Student Research in the Field of Clinical Homeopathy⁸³, and in 1990 another \$ 17,500 were donated by Mrs. Engle to the School of Pharmacy for Scholarly Studies in the Field of Clinical Homeopathy⁸⁴.

Elsa Engle's family history, which I had the opportunity to unravel through personal interviews with her in 1989, 1991, and 1992, almost paradigmatically sheds a light on the complex personal background of the homeopathic movement over one century.⁸⁵

Elsa's grandmother, Maria Beck (?-1898), had thirteen children, five of which died in infancy. All were born in Oberachern (near Baden-Baden/Germany). In the 1880s, the whole family emigrated to America and finally landed in Santa Cruz, California. Still in New York, daughter Sophie Beck married Andreas Köppel who also came from Oberachern. After moving to Santa Cruz, their child Elsa Köppel was born in 1895. When her mother Sophie died in 1902, Elsa, at the age of seven, first lived with her aunts in Santa Cruz, and after 1907 with her cousin Hedwig Engle in San Francisco.

79 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Minutes of the First Regular Meeting of The California Women's Homeopathic Association, April 6, 1959, Articles of Incorporation of The California Women's Homeopathic Association, 12th day of February, 1959.

80 On the contributions of women to American homeopathy see Kirschmann (2004).

81 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Minutes. Meeting of California Women's Homeopathic Association, Dec. 10, 1974, p. 111. See also Donner (1975).

82 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Minutes. Meeting of Cal. Wom. Hom. Ass., Dec. 3, 1980, pp. 135-138. See also UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Minutes. Boards of Directors Meeting [Cal. Wom. Hom. Ass.], April 8, 1981, pp. 45-46.

83 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Minutes. Meeting of Cal. Wom. Hom. Ass., Dec. 12, 1983, pp. 145-146.

84 UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Letter by Elsa K. Engle to Jere E. Goyan [Dean, UCSF, School of Pharmacy], March 26, 1990; UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Letter of thanks by Jere E. Goyan to Elsa K. Engle, Aug. 1, 1990.

85 Arch. JMS: Interviews with Elsa K. Engle [1895-1994] in San Francisco on Oct. 7, 1989, Dec. 11, 1991, Febr. 17, and June 6, 1992.

Hedwig was the daughter of Elsa's aunt Josephine Buss. Hedwig Buss was born in Germany where she got a scholarship of the duchess of Baden-Baden to attend a catholic school, and later acquired a Bachelor of Arts degree at Stanford. Eventually, she taught French and German at the University of Nevada. In 1903 she married Howard M. Engle (1874-1952), a homeopathic physician.

Howard Engle's ancestors, on the other hand, were Huguenots who emigrated to the States in 1695. Howard was born in Pennsylvania in 1874 and attended Franklin & Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He became a doctor when his younger brother Bruce Engle was born in 1891. At his delivery a homeopathic physician helped his mother Harriet Engle with great success, so that Howard transferred into Hahnemann Medical College of Philadelphia. There he graduated aged twenty-one. He practiced homeopathy in Wichita, Kansas, but after having contracted malaria he moved to California where his elder brother had settled in Berkeley. In 1897 Howard Engle established a practice in Santa Cruz, where Elsa and her relatives lived. Elsa's aunt Kathrin (married to the brewer August Peter in 1891) was suffering from an intercostal zoster, and her grandmother Maria Beck was suffering from cardiovascular disease and depression. Both were relieved by Howard Engle's treatment, which converted the whole family to homeopathy.

Howard Engle became associated with Petrie Hoyle (1861-1955), an Englishman who had graduated from Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco. After the latter went back to England, Howard took over his practice in San Francisco. In 1900 he began to practice in Geary Street, in 1906 he moved to Central Avenue, in 1907 to Filbert Street, and in 1917 to Sutter Street where he had an office in the Galen Building (one block from Union Square) until he died in 1952.

Thus, from the time when Elsa Köppel started to live with her cousin Hedwig in 1907 (who then had been married to Howard Engle for four years) she got involved with homeopathy. Since Elsa only went as far as the fifth grade at school, Hedwig taught her. Howard gave her a copy of William Boericke's "Pocket Manual of Materia Medica". Although Hedwig and Howard Engle divorced in 1916, Elsa worked in Howard Engle's office as long as he lived. In 1918 she married Howard's younger brother Bruce Engle (1891-1979) who became Chief of the Dairy and Milk Divisions of the San Francisco Health Department. Originally he should have become a doctor too, but because of lack of means first joined the US Navy and finally was employed in a dairy company. After a shared married life of sixty-one years, in 1979 Bruce Engle died. In January of 1994 Elsa followed him, one month before her ninety-ninth birthday.

Elsa Engle had many offices and functions. As secretary she was connected with the Board of Directors of the Homeopathic Foundation of California, the Hahnemann Hospital Corporation, the Hahnemann Medical College of

the Pacific, the California Women's Homeopathic Association, etc. In addition, she exercised her influence on homeopathic physicians individually. While James W. Ward e.g. was strictly against any association with "allopathic" medical societies, Elsa Engle advised Howard Engle to do the contrary. He then joined the San Francisco County Medical Society and the American Medical Association.⁸⁶

The story of Elsa Engle displays almost paradigmatically typical features of the homeopathic scene of the last century. On the one hand we see the diversity of origins of the main players, the imponderableness of the immigration dynamics, and the contingencies of meeting with new people, on the other hand the conversion to homeopathy, not out of theoretical speculation, but rather on account of individual experience such as the cure of close relatives, the association and cooperation for the cause of homeopathy in spite of personal obstacles such as divorce or the like, and the possibility of a career in institutions even without regular formal education. Eventually, it turns out that in order to understand the decisions and politics of well-known (male) homeopaths sometimes it may be worthwhile to study the influence their little known (female) collaborators exercised on them.

Therapeutical practice by homeopathic doctors

Exceeding a history of organizations, institutions and biographies by trying to study the former homeopaths' actual therapeutics, i.e. what they really did rather than what they confessed, proves to be a major challenge.⁸⁷ All the more gratifying it was that, regarding this topic, again Elsa Engle turned out to be an invaluable source of oral history. Born in 1895, she was an eyewitness to the therapeutic behaviour of doctors from the turn of the century till the early 1990s.

According to what she remembered, the homeopaths she dealt with "mainly and mostly used low potencies: 3x, 6x, 12x, and 30x," chiefly from Boericke & Runyon.⁸⁸ They were "not tiny little pills" as nowadays, but "nice little discs" from the size of a white headed pinhead to half a fingernail. Usually, patients had to take them two, three, or four times a day. Also drops were used. In typhoid, small pox, and diphtheria e.g. they put drops in half a glass of water, and stirred it well before they took it. Especially "in the old days", i.e. in the 1880s and 1890s, homeopaths were said to be

86 Her advice to Howard Engle was: "All respect to Dr. Ward, but how are these people gonna know what's your fight if you don't associate with them? How are they gonna know what kind of person you are? [...]" Arch. JMS: Interview with Elsa K. Engle in San Francisco on Febr. 17, 1992.

87 See Risse: *History* (1991).

88 See e.g. the advertisement of "Boericke & Runyon Co., Established 1870, 880-882 Folsom St., San Francisco", "the Oldest and Largest Homeopathic Manufacturing Pharmacists West of St. Louis", in the *Directory* (1941), p. 48.

“really interested” in their patients, to take their time with them, nay to come to see them every day, to stay about one hour at the sick person’s house. They used to charge \$ 3.50 for a house visit, and \$ 2.50 for a consultation in the office.⁸⁹ For comparison: In 1904 a homeopath with “one of the finest practices” in Boston was netting \$ 12,000 per year⁹⁰, and in 1915 a graduate nurse charged \$ 25.00 per week at St. Luke’s Hospital in San Francisco⁹¹. On the other hand, e.g. the subscription price for the San Francisco Directory was \$ 10.00 in 1915⁹², while Kent’s Repertory was \$ 20.00 in 1941⁹³.

Nevertheless, Elsa Engle also saw “good results from high potencies”. When she was sixteen years old, she had a neuralgia that came on at 10 a.m. and lasted till 3 p.m. *Natrium muriaticum* 30c, one dose, gave her “relief quite right away and it never returned”. When she suffered from “a mouthful of red blisters” she once took a 200x with good results, and during her menopause *Lachesis* 30c gave her relief.

Contrary to the old physicians, according to Engle’s account, the “new” homeopaths of the Bay Area, mainly pupils of Vithoulkas, are claiming to “cure everything with one dose” of a high potency. In reality, however, as she had heard from friends who had consulted them, they could not even give them relief.⁹⁴

Research on homeopathy

Having merged with the University of California, Medical School in 1916, the representatives of the Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific were forced to teach homeopathy in close vicinity to regular medicine. Hence, in

89 This corresponds roughly with the scale of fees of that time. “For each visit in the city during the daytime” in 1885 it had to be charged \$ 3.00 to \$ 5.00 (UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Fee Table of the Alameda County Medical Association. Adopted July 13, 1885; published also in the (Eighth Edition of the) *Official Register and Directory of Physicians and Surgeons in the State of California* (1896), pp. 125-126), and “for one ordinary visit” in 1891 it was \$ 5.00 (UCSF, Spec. Coll.: Fee Bill, Adopted by the San Francisco County Medical Society and the Society of German Physicians, Oct. 12, 1891).

90 Kirschmann (2004), p. 159.

91 (Forty Forth) Annual Report, St. Luke’s Hospital (1915).

92 The general price development may be reflected in the gradual rise of the price for the San Francisco Directory: \$ 5.00 in the years 1873 to 1895, \$ 6.00 in the years 1900 to 1905, \$ 7.50 in the years 1907 to 1913, \$ 10.00 in the years 1914 to 1918, \$ 11.00 in the year 1919, \$ 15.00 in the years 1920 to 1923, \$ 18.00 in the years 1924 to 1927, \$ 20.00 in the year 1930, \$ 22.50 in the years 1931 to 1932, \$ 25.00 in the year 1934, and \$ 35.00 in the year 1935.

93 Directory (1941), p. 20.

94 Arch. JMS: Interview with Elsa K. Engle in San Francisco on Dec. 11, 1991. See (Crocker-Langley’s) San Francisco Directories for the Years 1873 to 1935.

order to explain the principles of homeopathy to regular medical students, the instructors tried to proceed from the "common sense" of regular medical methodology. Thus, scientific research on homeopathy seemed to be fundamental.⁹⁵

In Germany, in the 1920s and 1930s (starting with Bier's publication in 1925) homeopathy experienced a resurgence and much work was done there to investigate the basics of homeopathy scientifically. Hence, the same was intended at San Francisco. In 1923 the Homeopathic Foundation of California was launched and in 1929 under its auspices a Research Committee was appointed. In 1932 Hilario G. Marquez was appointed Director of the Research Department, and when in 1933 Otto Guttentag arrived he was made Co-Director. From 1933 to 1937 the Foundation ran a journal called *The Laboratory* where twice a year reports of ten scientific sections were published, including news-notes of homeopathic advancements abroad.⁹⁶ Basic essays of outstanding homeopaths such as Alfons Stiegele, Fritz Donner, Karl Kötschau, and Ernst Bastanier (1870-1953) were even entirely reprinted in German.⁹⁷

Since 1932 various research studies were conducted at the Homoeopathic Division of the University of California Medical School: on cerebro vascular accidents, pyorrhea alveolaris, blood fat, immune phenomena produced by crystallized substances, drug provings, the Henshaw Blood Serum Flocculation Test, and the effectiveness of various agents in burns.⁹⁸

In the *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy*, published by the California State Homeopathic Medical Society, from 1930 to 1933 a new heading was introduced: Medical Literature and Abstracts. It was divided into the departments of Medicine, Obstetrics and Gynecology, Dermatology and Syphilology, Surgery, Ophthalmology, Rhinology and Laryngology, Pathology and Bacteriology, Radiology and Physical Therapy, Neurology, etc. These abstracts were extracted from regular medical literature. Thus, McGavack who conducted Medicine always reported latest achievements in diagnosis and treatment, e.g. of heart disease, hypertension, diabetes, goiter, anemia, obesity, cholesterin, and outlined current developments in research on en-

95 "I am convinced that any successful teaching of homeopathy in an 'old school' institution necessitates approaching the subject through anatomical, biochemical and physiological considerations. There is moreover a need for experimental evidence from both laboratory and clinic." McGavack (1932), p. 284.

96 The scientific sections were 1. Posology, 2. Plant Life, 3. Minerals and Metals, 4. Animal Products, 5. Pharmacology and Pharmacodynamics, 6. Biochemistry, 7. Applied Homoeopathy, 8. Physico-Chemical Studies with Medicinal Agents, 9. Dentistry in Its Relation to Homoeopathic Medication, 10. Historical Research. *The Laboratory of the Homoeopathic Foundation of California* 1,2 (1934), p. 12; 2,2 (1935), p. 6; and 3,2 (1936), p. 8.

97 Stiegele (1936); Donner (1936); Kötschau (1936); Bastanier (1936).

98 McGavack: Report (1934).

ocrinology, parasites, immunity, etc. In regard to these reports, there was no difference to regular medical journals.

Likewise, from 1933 to 1940 S.W. Staads regularly reviewed German medical books, written e.g. by Otto Leiser (1888-1964), Bernhard Aschner (1883-1960), Josef Schier, Oswald Schlegel (?-1963), Benno Schilsky, etc., under the heading Abstracts from Current German Literature. He also provided excerpts from articles of the major German (homeopathic) journals, such as *Allgemeine homöopathische Zeitung*, *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Homöopathie*, *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Homöopathie*, *Neue Homöopathische Zeitung*, *Leipziger Populäre Zeitschrift für Homöopathie*, *Hippokrates*, *Biologische Heilkunst*, *Heilkunst der Gegenwart*, *Deutsche Zahnärztliche Wochenschrift* and *Fortschritte der Medizin*.

In 1940, however, according to the editor Charles C. Boericke there was too little interest shown in the journal, neither from the physicians, who sent no articles, nor from the laity, whose subscriptions were dwindling. Thus, it was found impossible to publish a journal of that size and quality any longer.⁹⁹ In the succeeding journal it was reasoned that the homeopaths' future efforts should "turn rather towards winning a greater public and creating a wider need of homoeopathy" than trying to "get recognition of official science and orthodox medicine" by means of research.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

It was argued that Kentianism, i.e. homeopathic practice according to James Tyler Kent (1849-1916) which was predominant in the Eastern parts of America at the beginning of the 20th century, was one of the major reasons for the decline of homeopathy in the United States. Through the exclusive recognition of strict Hahnemannianism and neglect of new scientific achievements in regular medicine – so the argument – the gap between the two schools grew wider and wider.¹⁰¹

In the American West, however, this was not the crucial problem. Contrary to sectarian attitudes in the Eastern centers, such as Hering College of Homoeopathy or Dunham Medical College of Chicago¹⁰², Hahnemann Medical College of the Pacific tried to integrate homeopathy into the curriculum of the University's Medical School. After the merger of the two schools, during the 1930s considerable research was conducted to prove the claims of homeopathy with scientific methods. This endeavour was obviously due to the influence of German homeopaths of a more critical line prevailing in Germany at that time. Nevertheless, homeopathy declined equally in the Western States. When Guttentag's Professorship and Chair of Homeopathy

99 *Pacific Coast Journal of Homoeopathy* 51 (1940), pp. 319, 415.

100 *The Pacific Coast Homoeopathic Bulletin* 1,8 (1942), pp. 3-4.

101 Donner (1928); Schwarzhaupt (1963).

102 See Schmidt (1996).

was renamed and ultimately abolished in 1958, however, it was the last one of that kind in the whole country.

The present-day renaissance of homeopathy which mainly emerged from the West Coast, paradoxically, has more similarity with Kentianism than with its own scientific-critical tradition in California. The majority of the “new” homeopaths, however, are not medical doctors but other kinds of health care professionals, and there seems to be little interest or ability to bridge the gap to regular medicine. The “new” homeopathic clinics, on the other hand, such as the Hering Clinic, which was founded in 1977 at Berkeley and from which in 1985 the Hahnemann Medical Clinic arose, which in 1992 expanded and moved to Albany/California, despite their suggestive names are private medical offices and not hospitals in a strict sense.¹⁰³

In conclusion, the course of the history of homeopathy in the United States of America suggests that the rise, decline, and persistence of homeopathy was and is much less due to results of clinical trials or laboratory research work but rather to an interplay of various external factors, such as subprofessionalization, criticism of medicine, expansion of the medical market, patients’ interest in communicative medicine, etc. However, the present popularity of homeopathy in many of the world’s countries indicates that its history has not yet been completed.

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